1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

brought uncooked and is provided by the bride's people; the *voi*, also brought uncooked; and the *umu manatu*, which is cooked.

The second day of the marriage is the day of purification. The woman is bathed with candlenut as detergent and afterwards presides at her kava ring. Then her bundles of mats and native cloth are brought and disposed of as she desires. Then these games and dances are held: (1) *tofoe*, a game; (2) *lauumanga*, a game; (3) *meetuupaki*, a dance. The third and last day of the rejoicings comprised: (1) *lave*, reciting and singing of poetry; (2) dances: *laufola*, *meetuupaki*, and other dances; (3) and various games.

DEATH

Burial seems to have been the only method of disposing of the dead in Tonga. It seems possible that some embalmment was practiced in which interment of the corpse was deferred several years. Collocott has sent me a note gleaned from the journal of an early Methodist missionary, now in the keeping of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, which refers to the period from 1831 to 1837 and speaks of "a party celebrating *putu* (funeral) for a child who died seven years ago, but whose corpse was not interred until last week, which was the third and final mourning."

The body of a chief is anointed with scented oil, laid out in state, and fanned with a long-handled fly switch (*fue*) of coconut fiber. It was possibly in connection with embalming that the undertaker (*haatufunga*) removed the brains and apparently the intestines of the chiefly dead. Apparently, however, embalming was very rare in Tonga. The accounts of the burial of great personages such as the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga given by Wilson (65) and Mariner (40) give no hint of embalming or preservation over long periods.

The undertakers of Tonga are of the matapule class and are appointed like other matapule, great chiefs having as attendants during life the men who will perform the funerary functions for them at death. The chief undertaker of modern Tonga is Lauaki, one of the two great matapule of the Tui Kanokupolu. The Lauaki who functioned at the funeral of King George II in 1918 was still living in 1921. He is chief of the Haa Tufunga or "Lineage of Undertakers." The first Lauaki (Maliepo) is reputed to have been the paternal half brother of the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu, and to have descended from the sky with him. Apparently the funeral duties of Lauaki are a development following his transfer from the Tui Tonga's court to the courts of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu. Lauaki seems to have had no mortuary duties for the Tui Tonga, for whom this service was rendered by the Tui Folaha.

Funeral matters were regarded as of great importance. In the court of the Tui Tonga a considerable number of matapule of the Falefa (p. 66) had special funerary duties to perform upon the death of the Tui Tonga.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

The Tongans believe that the dead have the ability to cause the sudden death of anyone. I have known many instances in which a person has dreamed of a dead relative several times in succession and, as a means of stopping it and preventing the dead from killing the living, has gone to the graveyard and dug up the bones, in some cases whilst there was still flesh upon them, and thrown them into the sea, or chopped them up. This method is looked upon as infallible.

When a man is taken ill his sons go as far away as possible, until he is dead, so that the disease will not attack them. The house and bed he died in are usually burned and the sons coming after will not walk over the spot for fear of infection! Anyone else may do so with impunity.

Food carried over a graveyard, as by a small child who did not realize what he was doing, was not eaten, as death or other dire results would ensue.

OATHS

An oath (*fuakava*) was also called *lea tuki* (*lea*, speech; *tuki*, a superstitious practice by which thieves and other miscreants are said to be accursed), according to Baker (2). Apparently Baker refers to the administering of an oath, which, if taken by a thief, would result in his death. The conception of the oath seems to be ancient, and the idea is quite deep-seated that swearing falsely results in death.

While I was in Tonga a gold finger ring was lost in a girls' boarding school. Inquiry failing to locate it, the girls suggested that they be put on oath, preferably by the police, for then if the thief were one of themselves and took oath, she would die. Presumably, however, she could have averted such a fate by confession.

The Bible is at times used in sealing a pact, often between a man and a woman. "They hold the book," as the Tongans express it. Such a pact is called *puke tohi*. It is frowned upon by the clergy and in general is regarded as a wrong deed, which may act as a curse upon the families of the book holders.

Examples of oaths occur in certain Tongan poems. "Lest my mother be sterile" is put in the mouth of the Samoan chief Sinilau (26, p. 148). The poet Fusitouone sings: "Listen while I swear by the bamboo that waves."

TAPU

In Tonga, as elsewhere in Polynesia, distinction is made between things inherently tapu, such as sanctuaries and the persons of chiefs, and things which are temporarily tapu, such as food products reserved for a feast. Temporary tapus may be placed by a chief, by a priest, or by a modern practitioner skilled in curing as well as "causing" certain ailments. Tapus placed by chiefs seem to have been backed by no supernatural sanction. Tapus placed by a priest called for the vengeance of a god upon the tapu

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

As soon as he arrived at the fortress, he communicated to Finow what had passed, saying, in his defence, that he was so eager in pursuit, as to be out of all self command. The king immediately ordered cava to be taken to the priest of his own tutelar god, that the divinity might be consulted as to what atonement was proper to be made for so heinous a sacrilege. The priest being inspired, made answer, that it was necessary a child should be strangled to appease the anger of the gods*. The chiefs, then, held a consultation, and came to the determination of sacrificing a child of Toobo Toa, by one of his female attendants†. Toobo Toa was present, and gave his consent that his child (about two years old) should be immolated to appease the anger of the gods, and turn aside their vengeance for the sacrilegious crime committed. The child was accordingly sought for; but its mother, thinking *her* child might be demanded, had concealed it: being, at length, found by

* This is perfectly consistent with the Tonga custom, whenever the divinities are supposed to be exceedingly offended. It is a piece of superstition far from being uncommon in the history of mankind. Unpleasant truths as well as agreeable ones must be sought out and related, if we wish to arrive at a true knowledge of our own nature.

† On such occasions, the child of a male chief is always chosen, as being worthier than others, and a child by an inferior female attendant, because it is not a chief; only those children being chiefs whose mothers are chiefs.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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669 688 782 783 one of the men who were in search of it, he took it up in his arms, smiling with delight at being taken notice of. Its poor mother wanted to follow, but was held back by those about her; on hearing its mother's voice it began to cry, but, when it arrived at the fatal place of its execution, it was pleased and delighted with the band of gnatoo that was put round its neck, and, looking up in the face of the man who was about to destroy it, displayed in its beautiful countenance a smile of ineffable pleasure; such a sight inspired pity in the breast of every one: but veneration and fear of the gods was a sentiment superior to every other, and its destroyer could not help exclaiming, as he put on the fatal bandage, *O iaoué chi vale!* (poor little innocent!) Two men then tightened the cord by pulling at each end, and the guiltless and unsuspecting victim was quickly relieved of its painful struggles. The body was then placed [292] upon a sort of hand-barrow, supported upon [301] the shoulders of four men, and carried in a procession of priests, chiefs, and matabooles clothed in mats, with wreaths of green leaves round their necks. In this manner it was conveyed to various houses consecrated to different gods, before each of which it was placed on the ground, all the company sitting behind it, except one priest, who sat beside it, and prayed

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

aloud to the god that he would be pleased to accept of this sacrifice as an atonement for the heinous sacrilege committed, and that punishment might accordingly be withheld from the people. When this had been done before all the consecrated houses in the fortress, the body was given up to its relations, to be buried in the usual manner.

About four or five days after the above horrible immolation, this same Palavali was killed in a skirmish with the enemy. He went out again on a foraging excursion with about 30 or 40 men, not professed warriors, but men on whose courage and honour no reliance could be placed. They met with a smaller body of the enemy, but who were all staunch fighting men; in a very short time Palavali's men turned about to run away; he vainly endeavoured to rally them, and facing the enemy again to set them the example, he received several wounds and fell. At this moment his men also faced about, and seeing the perilous situation of their chief, became animated with courage, and drove the enemy a few paces back, whilst two or three picked him up and carried him to the fortress. When they arrived they proceeded to take out four spears which had pierced him, but he desired them to desist from so useless a task, as he was certain the gods had decreed his

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

634 was almost denied to him; one word alone
763 could be clearly distinguished, *fonnooa* (land or country): hence it was supposed that he meant to express his anxiety respecting the mischiefs and disturbances that might happen to the
634 country in the event of his death. After wait-
763 ing a little time, finding he did not get better,
755 the prince, and a young chief named Voogi,
782 went out to procure one of Finow's children
783 by a female attendant, to sacrifice it to the gods, that their anger might be appeased, and the health of its father restored*. They found the child in a neighbouring house, unconsciously sleeping in its mother's lap: they took it away by force, and retiring with it behind an adjacent Fytóca, strangled it, as quickly as possible, with a band of *gnatoo*: they then carried it, with all speed, before two consecrated houses and a grave, at each place hurrying over a short but appropriate prayer to the god to interfere with the other gods in behalf of Finow, and to accept of this sacrifice as an
634 atonement for his crimes. This being done,
763 they returned to the place where Finow lay, but found him with scarcely any signs of life,

* For further particulars respecting this ceremony, see p. 217. The younger Finow used often to express his regret that the gods were so relentless as to require such cruel sacrifices.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

stantly prevails on these occasions: if a man is knocked down, he rises with a smile; if his arm is broken, he retires to get it set, without seeming to think any thing of it: on the contrary, to be angry, or to fight with the least animosity, would be considered the mark of a very weak mind. After the battle, those who have contended with superior chiefs, or think they may have touched superior chiefs, perform the ceremony of *móëmóë*, to a chief at least as high in rank as any they may have come in contact with.

Every tenth day, as before stated, these ceremonies are repeated for seven or eight successive times. The child that has been mentioned as representing the wife of Alo Alo is generally chosen from among the female chiefs of the higher ranks, and is about eight or ten years old: during the eighty days of this ceremony, she resides at the consecrated house of Alo Alo, where, the day before the first ceremony, a cava party is held, at which she presides, as well as at a feast which follows. She has nothing to do on the actual days of the ceremony, except to come with the deputation and sit down with them.

NAWGIA; or the ceremony of strangling children, as sacrifices to the gods, for the recovery of a sick relation. The blackest cloud

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

As it is forbidden to quarrel or fight upon consecrated ground, so fighting in such a place would be said to be *táboo*, and those that fought would be said also to be *táboo*; and a man who is thus *táboo* would have to make some sacrifice to the gods as an atonement for the sacrilege, as instanced in Palavali's case. (See Vol. I. p. 216.) If a man be guilty of theft, or any crime whatsoever, he is said to have broken the *táboo;* and as all such persons are particularly supposed liable to be bitten by sharks, an awkward mode of discovering a thief is founded upon this notion, by making all the suspected persons go into the water, where sharks frequent, and he who is bitten or devoured is looked upon as the guilty person. If any one touches a superior chief, or superior relation, or any thing immediately belonging to him, he *táboos* himself; but this is not supposed to produce any bad consequence, unless he feeds himself with his own hands, without first removing this *táboo*, which is to be done by performing the ceremony of *móë-móë*, directly to be explained. If a person touches the body of a dead chief, or any thing personally belonging to him, he becomes *taboo*, and time alone can relieve him. (See note, Vol. I. p. 141.) Certain kinds of food, as turtle, and a certain species of fish, from something in their nature, are said to be

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

walls, amid the plaudits of the audience. So a second choir filed in, and a third and fourth, until the church was filled to overflowing. It was in reality a choral competition between the different divisions of the town, the outcome of three weeks of practice under the direction of the composer. The native parson meanwhile took his stand in the pulpit, and gave out a text, which was sung with fine effect by the combined choirs to a tune of native composition. An inspiriting address followed, often interrupted by cries of applause. They were working up their enthusiasm for the real business of the evening.

After the sermon there was a long pause, during which the people looked furtively at one another. At last an old woman stood up, and the shouts of "*Fakafetai*" became deafening. "She is going to tell about her soul," whispered my neighbour. Upon this interesting subject she had a great deal to say in a monotonous flow of verbiage, drowned at times by the cries of "*Malo!*" I noticed, indeed, throughout the evening that the women had a far greater command of language than the men. Before she had finished, two middle-aged men and a very villanous-looking policeman were on their feet. The first to rise caught the parson's eye, and gave us a very long and weary diagnosis of his spiritual symptoms. The second elder was jaunty, and gently chaffed his soul, exciting bursts of merriment by screwing up his eyes at the laughing places. Three or four others had now risen, and remained standing in penitent attitudes until their turn came. The criminal-looking policeman had his say first. With forced

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

781 calm he told us what a sinner he had been, and at each
783 disgraceful confession the audience shouted their applause. Then with bated breath he told of his awakening; with suppressed emotion he described his inward tumult: words failed him; he caught his breath, he flung up his arms passionately, and after a silent struggle his voice rent the air in a hideous yell, "The Lord has got my soul!" He raved; he tore open his shirt as if he would pluck the heart out of him; and then, still raving, he flung himself on the ground in a frenzy of simulated sobs, and another took up the tale. It was a disgusting exhibition, but it was the success of the evening.

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516]

"The Lord has got my soul!"

The performance of the next penitent—a grey-haired and respectable man—was original, but it had been eclipsed. He said nothing: he simply stood and was shaken by sobs, while real tears ran through his fingers. After some minutes of this repentance in dumb-show he made a gesture of despair, and sat down amid loud acclamations.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

There were some tame imitations of the three principal performers: then Tukuaho rose, and a hush fell upon the excited crowd. Religion was to give place to politics. He told them that he had come to the church that evening to find comfort for his wounded spirit. He had landed on their shore with joy, thinking that he had come among old friends, but his joy had been turned into sorrow. They were his friends no longer — why? He knew not, unless it was because a distasteful office had been forced upon him. Did they think that he had sought office? No! he was Premier by Tubou's command, not by his own choice. Out of his love for his king he had undertaken work for which he was unfitted, and with God's help he would carry it through. Many foolish things had been said (was not Tonga the land of lying reports?). It had even been asserted that the independence of their country would be lost. Lost? Well, he could tell them that there was one man who would fight if the independence of the country was endangered. That man was himself. But was there a man present who would not fight? Hitherto

"He tore open his shirt."

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

motion to feel the pulse of the people after their dose of tonic.

Besides a pleasurable excitement the *bolotu* supplies the place of the confessional, though, owing to its publicity, the sins confessed are generally the more venial slips of omission rather than of commission. But not always. Tradition has it that the unregenerate Mary Butako, when

"When Mary 'told her soul.'"

past her first youth, showed leanings towards repentance, and there was dire consternation among the men of Sawana. They took heart, however, when it was found that though she attended every *bolotu*, yet she never was moved to "tell her soul." A night came at last when the enthusiasm passed the bounds. The acclamations were mingled with the sobs of the penitents overwhelmed with a sense of their sin, and in the midst Mary was seen

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

796 781 783 standing, weeping aloud. The dreadful day had come, and one after another the men of the place slunk out to spread the dire news among their comrades in distress. Plaudits and tears were alike suppressed: this was too serious a matter for ordinary demonstrations. A terrible and damning history fell from the lips of this penitent Phryne of the South Seas. When she had finished there was scarcely a man in the church, but the women sat and drank it all in, and many a household in Sawana dates its domestic troubles from that terrible *bolotu* when Mary "told her soul."

645 574 578 [431] [276] We began next day to reap the fruit of the seed scattered at the *bolotu* overnight. We were haunted by visitors. Our political opponents came in, each carrying in his hand the inevitable root of kava—for a Tongan making a visit of any ceremony would as soon forget his kava as an English lady her card-case under similar circumstances. [203] They sat rubbing shoulders with the spies from whom we knew exactly how much their new-born friendship was worth. [152] There was, moreover, a nervous hilarity about them that showed their sense of the awkwardness of their sudden change of front.

634 624 [625] At mid-day we summoned a meeting of the Government officials in the wooden court-house. There were the judge, the police magistrate, and the pound-keeper, all malcontents; a dozen policemen and jail-warders, believed to be the same; the Treasury clerk, said to be loyal; and greater than all — the head jailer, Kaho, a [551] dark horse whom it was important to win over. He proved to be the white-haired, bright-eyed *matabule*, who had been my neighbour in the king's *faikava*, where he sat

17: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923
OU9 Tonga OU9

is dangerous. The practitioner, when he has finished his treatment, carefully puts his basket or little bundle of medicine away in the shade, perhaps in the fork of a tree in the bush—it should not be left in the sun; and then he washes his hands. The owners of healing secrets generally guard their knowledge pretty jealously, and some virtue resides in themselves It would be useless, if not dangerous, to steal anyone's medicine, but the prescription will be effective if properly bestowed by one person on another. There do not seem to be, however, any special ways of gathering the barks and leaves used, though I have been told of a medicine whose base is a bark which must be scraped from the tree when the rising sun shines upon it, and there is another in which leaves are cut down the middle, and the right halves thrown away and the left used.

In addition to the ordinary massaging there are gentle strokings, some of which appear rather mysterious in their operation. A white man, young and alert, told me that he had a painful swelling on his back, like a blind boil. An old woman came to him equipped with a concave sea-shell with a hole bored through the middle. She lightly outlined with the edge of the shell a square round the swelling, and then placed the shell, hollow side downwards, on the swelling, and gently stroked the shell. There was immediate relief and improvement; the trouble was much better next day, and quite cured in three days.

Less mysterious, and less effective than the white man's stroking the back of a shell, is the practice of holding the stomach of anyone suffering from abdominal pains. The shooting pains caused by wind give rise to much alarm. It is thought that vital parts of the body are leaping out of place, and, quite logically, the friends of the patient seek to hold the restless organ in its proper position. To the Tongan, Europeans probably seem rather heartless in leaving the sick alone as much as they do. Tongans are continually doing something for the patient, holding his head, or massaging his stomach, or what not. It would be very worrying to a sick European, though it must be admitted that much of the stroking and rubbing is extremely soothing. I have known a woman in difficult labour to have all her pains instantly relieved by the gentle pressure of an old midwife's hands.

Toothache, which must be more common now than it was once, is the subject of controversy. Some hold that it is caused by the boring of a little animal, whilst others maintain that it is just a sickness. So far as I have heard the evidence the partisans of the borer theory seem to have the stronger case, as a girl told me that she had herself seen a grub in a man's hollow tooth.

Children's illnesses are often attributed to "remembering," that is pining for an absent relative. A child is ill; remedies are tried in

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

We all expected death, and prayed for the coming of the 'John Wesley.' O, why did she not come? All the people here are afraid of the wrath of God. Sinners have confessed and forsaken their sins. God has shown mercy as well as wrath; and nearly all the people meet in class."

It is not to be wondered at that a deep, and wide-spread, religious awakening should have followed the solemn scenes attendant upon the eruption; and the first desire of the survivors of the destroyed village, and, indeed, of all the inhabitants, seemed to be to escape from the presence of a power so mighty and destructive. Hence it was but natural that they should long for the appearance of the Mission ship, which was expected about that time on her usual annual visit. That vessel was almost the only link of connexion they had with adjacent islands; and, had it arrived at the time, it would have afforded them the most likely mode of transference to another country.

As soon as the cooling of the surface permitted any exploration of the scene of the calamity, it was determined, by the chiefs of the island, to hold a religious service, as near as possible to the supposed site of the overthrown village. Accordingly a large assemblage of people met, courageously yet solemnly, under the shadow of the largest volcano, then still in action. John Latu, the then resident Assistant Missionary, delivered on the occasion a most touching and impressive discourse from these words: "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

After a considerable time had elapsed, the peo-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

and the many religious restrictions and prohibitions connected therewith, may be easily interpreted as a relic, much changed and corrupted, from the ceremonial observances of the Jews.

3. The great feast of the "*Inaji*," or offering of first-fruits to the gods every year, seems a custom or religious ceremony of purely Jewish origin.

4. The same may be said of the rite of circumcision, which was regularly practised by them. An uncircumcised person was considered mean and despicable; and the custom has only disappeared in recent years.

5. Every person and thing that touched a dead body was considered unclean, and remained so until after the lapse of a certain number of days. During that allotted time, those whose duties compelled them to do the rites of burial, were not allowed to feed themselves, or to touch the food prepared by others. They were therefore carefully fed by attendants.

6. Females, after child-birth, and after other periods of infirmity, were enjoined strict separation; and were subjected to ceremonial purifications.

7. The Tonguese had cities of refuge, corresponding to those instituted among the Jews; the uses and regulations of which were closely akin to theirs.

8. The priestly orders and functions resembled, in some of their features, those of the Mosaic law. The *Taula*, or priest, was supposed to become inspired by the god, as his shrine or representative, while receiving and answering the prayers and sacrifices of the worshippers. These were offered through the *Feao*, or attendant upon the Taula;

782 who had not lost one or more finger joints."[21] Interestingly enough, Mariner witnessed two 755 five-year-old children in the 1800's actually [175] competing for the privilege of having a finger amputated in the *tutunima* ritual.[22]

782 Another ceremonial rite of early Tonga which was performed out of awe and deference to the gods was *no'osia*, i.e. strangling a human being as a sacrificial 782 offering. In days gone by, *no'osia* was done either 783 for the recovery of a sick person, or whenever the [755] gods had been offended and thus needed appeasement. For example, in the case of the latter, if the sacredness of a burial place was violated (say,

[p.43-A]

782 by a murder there), a chief's male child by an
783 inferior female attendant might be strangled in
[797] atonement.[23] Both the rite of *tutunima* and of *no'osia* gradually became discontinued with the introduction and spread of Christianity.

764 Funerals *(putu)*, which have long been matters of
[178] great formality and importance in Tonga, have always been accompanied by rather extensive mourning ceremonies. Some ancient funeral rituals having religious implications have fallen into disuse with the passing of the "old order"; these involved the mourners torturing themselves with self-inflicted wounds as a sign of anguish, of respect for the

[p. 43-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 458]

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

landing I found the King in the house along with our people. I no sooner got to him than he presented me with a large Hog and a quantity of yams. About the dusk of the evening, a number of men came and sat down in a round group and began to sing to the Musick of Bamboo drums which were in the middle of them, there were three long ones and two short, with these they struck the ground end ways as before discribed; there were two others which lay on the ground side by side, one of them was split or shivered, on these a man kept beating with two smal[l] sticks. They sung three Songs while I stayed and I left them at it and was told they continued till 10 o'clock; they burnt the leaves of the Wharra palm for a light, I have never seen them make use of any thing else.

MONDAY 16*th*. The 16th in the Morning after visiting the several workmen a shore, Mr Gore and I took a walk into the Country, the only thing we met with worthy of note was the meeting at different places with women going through the several processes of making cloth, which I shall describe in a nother place. In our return we met with Feenough and took him and another young Chief on board to dinner, but when dinner came on table niether would eat a bit, saying they were Tabu Avy ;[1] but after enquiring how the Victuals had been dressed, and finding no Water had been used in Cooking a pig and yams, they both sit down and eat very heartily, and on being assured there was no water in the Wine they drank of it also. From this we conjectured that on some account or a nother they were at this time forbid to use Water, or what was more probable, they did not like the Water we made use of, it being taken up out of one of their bathing places. This was not the only time we met with people that were Tabu Avy but on what account we never could tell with any degree of certainty.

wife'. The 'great royal wife', mother of Fuanunuiava, was Tupoumoheofo, daughter of Tupoulahi, elder brother (now dead) of Maealiuaki; so that Maealiuaki was in English terminology 'the Prince's' great-uncle, not his grandfather—but would still have been regarded by him as *kui*, grandfather. Maealiuaki had still another link with the Tu'i Tonga: his sister was the second 'great royal wife' of Paulaho's half-brother Ma'ulupekotofa. Thus, as (in English terms again), brother-in-law of the Tu'i Tonga's father, the previous Tu'i Tonga, father-in-law of the Tu'i Tonga, uncle of one of the Tu'i Tonga's wives and of his half-brother, and great-uncle of his son—as well as being Tu'i Kanokupolu—he had a formidable position. Maealiuaki died in this year, 1777, when precisely we do not know, and was succeeded as Tu'i Kanokupolu by his nephew (son of Tupoulahi), Tu'i Halafatai. This uncertainty is probably the reason why the latter is sometimes, it seems quite wrongly, said to have been the ruler at the time of Cook's visit.

[1] There is no doubt that Cook's second conjecture about Finau and his friend was the right one. Water from a bathing place could not possibly be used to cook or mix with food: 'Tabu Avy' is *tapu a vai*, *tapu* because of the water. As for the other people, water might be *tapu* for any number of reasons; but water, it must be noted, was also a 'cleansing agent' for doing away with some other sorts of *tapu*.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

the rack work broke and the instrument useless till repaired which there was not time to do before the day of the Eclipse. Got on board all the Cattle Poultry &c[a] except such as were distined to remain. I intended to have left a Turkey Cock and Hen, but having only two of each left, one of the hens through the ignorance of one of my people was strangled and died on the spot. I brought three Turkey hens to these islands, one was killed as above mentioned and the other by a useless dog belonging to one of the officers. These two accidents put it out of my power to leave of these birds here and at the same time carry a breed to Otaheite where they were first intended. I was sorry afterwards that I did not leave those that remained, as they would have been of more real Value here than at Otaheite and the people I am perswaided would have taken more pains to have multiplied them. The next day we took up our anchors and moved the Ships behind Pangimaudoo, in order to take the advantage of the first favourable wind to get through the Narrows.[1] Thurs. 3

At dinner to day the King who was one of the company tooke uncommon notice of the plates, this occasioned me to make him an offer of one, either of pewter or stone,[2] he chused the first and then began to tell us the several uses he would apply it to, two of them are so extraordinary that I cannot pass them over. He said that whenever he went to Visit any of the other islands, he would leave this plate behind him for the people to reverence in the same manner as they do himself,[3] he was asked what was used for this purpose before he got this plate, he answered a Wooden bowl in which he washed his hands.[4] The other extraordinary use he meant to apply it to was to discover a thief: he said when any thing was Stolen and the thief could not be found, the people were all assembled together before him, when he washed his hands in Water in this Vessel, after which it was cleaned and then the people came one after a nother and touched it in the same manner as they do his foot when they pay him Obeisance; if the Guilty person did it, he died immidiately on the spot, not by violence

[1] The entrance into the Piha passage, 'barely 1¼ cables [i.e. 330 yards] wide'. The name has persisted.

[2] i.e. stoneware.

[3] It was to have another, closely related, use of 'reverence'. 'If any one is tabooed by touching the person or garments of Tooitonga, there is no other chief can relieve him from his *taboo*, because no chief is equal to him in rank; and, to avoid the inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or some such thing), belonging to Tooitonga, is applied to and touched, instead of his feet. In Mr Mariner's time, Tooitonga always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which dish was given to his father by Captain Cook.'—Mariner, II, p. 188. The bowl used for this was known as the *koe fakafanonga* or *fafanonga*, the 'carrier of immunity'.

[4] According to some, this bowl was given to the thirty-first Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonua III, by Tasman on his visit in 1643.

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could sit down. The hands after performing this ceremony, are in some cases, rendered useless for a time, for untill they are washed they must not handle any kind of victuals; this in a Country like this, where water is not always at hand would seem to be attended with some ilconv[en]iency, but they are never without a succedanium, for a piece of any juicy plants of which there are always enough at hand, answers the purpose of water. When the hands are in this state they call it *Taboo rema*,[1] Taboo in general signifies forbiden and rema is hand.

When it is occasioned by paying obeisance to a great personage it is soon washed of; but in some other cases, it is of some continuance; we have frequently met with women that have been Taboo rema and have been fed by others, but never with a man. When the time is expired, she goes and washes in one of their baths which are dirty holes for the most part of brackesh water, she then comes to the King, make[s] her obeisance in the usual way, then takes his foot and applies it to her breast, shoulders and most other parts of her body, he then embraces her first on the one shoulder and then on the other, after which she retires purified from her uncleanness. I do not know that it is always necessary to come to the King, Omai said it was, if so this may be one reason why he is for the most part traveling from island to island. I saw it done with him two or three times, and with Feenough once, but this was with one of his own Women and as Omai was not with me I could not ask the occasion.

Taboo as I have before observed is a word of an extensive signification; Human Sacrifices are called *Tangata Taboo*, and when any thing is forbid to be eaten, or made use of they say such a thing is Taboo; they tell us that if the King should happen to go into a house belonging to a subject, that house would be Taboo and never more be inhabited by the owner;[2] so that where ever he travels there are houses for his reception; indeed none of them at no time make free with each others habitations. Old Toobough was at this time over the Taboo,[3] that is if Omai understood them right, he and his deputies inspected

[1] *tapu rima* is the modern form. But Cook must have heard the ambiguous Polynesian *r* sound in the word for 'hand'. He knew it from Tahiti and New Zealand.

[2] Or he was accompanied by a special portable house, *falefata*, carried around in sections. It will be remembered that the day Cook first met Paulaho, 27 May (p. 116 above), the king was 'carried a shore by some of his own people on a board like unto a hand barrow' [another mark of his eminence], 'and went and seated himself in a small neat house near the shore, which seemed to have been built for to accomodate travelling Chiefs'. The *arii rahi* in Tahiti could put houses out of commission in the same way. Even if the Tu'i Tonga sat on a mat or rested on a piece of tapa, the article could not be again used by the owner but passed to the king.

[3] 'Over the Taboo': meaning that he decided on matters of *tapu*; doing this and other work, Tongan fashion, for his elder brother Maealiuaki, the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

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never been recognized as a separate entity by the medical profession at that time. The missionary's wife wrote:

> "After Matthew returned from the islands a very severe affliction broke out. It is supposed to have been brought in a ship to Vava'u, from thence to Nuku'alofa in a canoe, and several of the canoe's crew first died in it. Then it broke out among the people at Nuku'alofa. We heard of the fearful devastation which it made among the people at that place. but nothing occurred here for some time. At length, it found its way to Hihifo, by people going backwards and forwards to Nuku'alofa to attend funerals, &c.
>
> "Some were taken in the way. returned, and died in a few days. It is quite a new complaint in these islands. The first week the complaint broke out here six died in it. We were constantly kept on our feet from the morning to night, giving out medicine, bleeding persons who were seized. &c. It generally attacks the young, strong and healthy. Bleeding is considered indispensably necessary in this affliction. As many as fifteen have been bled in a day at this place. The people are seized in different ways, some at the back of the neck, others at the foot or feet, hand or arms, side, back &c., yet all one complaint. Then comes on a numbness in the limbs, some have much pain, others only a little. It often happens that one or both the arms, one or both the legs, sometimes one arm and one leg, or both arms and both legs, are numb, cold and dead, destitute of all use and feeling. It is almost always preceded by cold shivering, and that followed by a hot fever; very great constipation of the bowels is another very prominent feature in this complaint.
>
> "Many have died suddenly in it, tho' but a few hours before they seemed in full strength. only a little numbness in the limbs. My husband went to see a young woman who did not appear near death then, only both her arms were numb and dead. We went again to her and she was just dying as we entered the house, tho' that were only about three hours after my husband had been talking with her." (84)

In the mid-19th Century the Church was the centre of the community's life. Tonga had become a nation at prayer, in all Wesleyan districts. The Sabbath was the great day of the week, with crowded congregations, enthusiastic choirs, and fervent preaching. Sunday began with prayer meetings at daylight, followed by 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. services, also Sunday School and, generally, evening gatherings of a more informal nature.

Sabbath observance had been readily accepted not only as a welcome cessation from labour but as the external evidence of the change from a non-Christian society. The people believed that the sternest divine sanctions, like their ancient *tapus*, guarded the Sabbath ordinance. This was clear from the early days as when, in 1831, a hurricane wrecked the Spanish brig, *Candide*, in Tongatapu, with some loss of life; the people believed that the tragedy was due to God's wrath upon a crew that had obtained wood and water on the Sabbath preceding the wreck.(83) Tonga has followed its policy of Sabbatarianism to the present day, and this has been embodied in its laws and the Constitution of 1875.

It was almost inevitable that religion tended to consist in compliance with Church rules, as far as many converts were concerned. Attendance at Church in Wesleyan districts was the universal custom; indeed it was specifically enjoined in the Code of Vava'u, 1839, though evidently not enforced. John Thomas declared that even sleeping during a church service was sinful; he believed it was due to tiredness after Saturday night dancing.

> "I told them of the evil of such things and that it was a sin to sleep in the worship of God." (86)

Not only the prohibition of all work and games on Sunday but the rigid control of personal behaviour became marked features of Tongan Wesleyanism. This discipline became irksome to many as time went on. Thomas Adams, who came in 1847, deplored the unwillingness of many converts to accept "the restraints

/249 cont./ The old, so greatly feared power of the tapu is gone. In place of this merely negative law of prohibition, of avoidance and abstention has come the idea of sanctity; though this also includes prohibition, its meaning is far more ethical then that of the tapu, for the sacred, the lofty and the godly is not so much "that which is dangerous, " but rather "that which is to be venerated." For the natives, the principle of sin and atonement of all human beings was also new; this meant /250/ a considerable change in the ancient Tongan idea of the deity, since the gods were not ideal beings beyond good and evil, and did not punish sins (in the Christian sense). The old belief in the absolute dependence of human beings on the gods who sent illness and suffering as punishment for the neglect of religious duties and other transgressions, is today equivalent to the conviction that God is almighty; suffering and sickness are regarded as blows of fate sent by God, though not merely in the sense of punishment, but of trial and purification. Whereas in the past there were few rites and no formalized general veneration of the gods in Tonga, there are today several churches on all the inhabited islands, and the natives take part in the numerous church services conducted in accordance with their denominational procedure. The Tongan clergymen who serve the congregations are respected and influential in the community, in contrast to the rather unimportant ancient Tongan priests. The former sacrifices of the harvest, of fingers and of children have not been carried out for a long time, buy, in a sense, the very high donations to churches by members of the congregations may replace these. Today, as in the past, there is general devoutness, and only occasionally one comes across outspoken disbelief.

These comparisons, despite their brevity, may give an insight into the change that came about in Tonga in the field of religion,